

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 IO-14 EUR-25 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 AEC-11 OMB-01 OIC-04 DRC-01 /149 W

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O 162207Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 620

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USNATO IMMEDIATE 888

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9513

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: WESTERN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

REF: A. STATE 223835; (B) VIENNA 9155

1. AS A RESULT OF LENGTHLY AND DETAILED DISCUSSIONS OVER PAST FEW DAYS, THE AD HOC GROUP HAS AGREED THAT ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO THE EAST IN THE FORM OF A WRITTEN MEMORANDUM. THIS MEMORANDUM WOULD BE TABLED IN PLENARY SESSION, PREFERABLY ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22. IT WOULD CONTAIN BOTH THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS AND THEIR BASIC RATIONALE, STATED AS CONCISELY AS POSSIBLE. IN TABLING THIS MEMORANDUM, THE US REP WOULD MAKE AN INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION, ALONG THE LINES OF THE TEXT TRANSMITTED IN STATE 223835, CONTAINING ALL OF THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS OF THE MEMORANDUM, BUT GIVING A MORE DETAILED RATIONALE. OUTLINE IN PARAGRAPH 21 OF REF A WILL BE DELETED.

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2. AD HOC GROUP ALSO AGREED THAT TEXT OF WRITTEN MEMORANDUM WOULD BE SUBMITTED TO NAC FOR APPROVAL, BUT THAT TEXT OF PRESENTATION -- WHICH WOULD BE IDENTICAL IN SUBSTANCE -- NEED NOT BE SUBMITTED TO COUNCIL. SEE REF (B) FOR TEXT OF MEMORANDUM, AGREED BY AHG AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER 16. TEXT OF PRESENTATION, WHICH HAS BEEN DISCUSSED BUT NOT YET AGREED IN AHG, IS BEING ADJUSTED TO REFLECT LANGUAGE OF THE MEMORANDUM. REVISED DRAFT WILL BE SENT SEPTTEL WHEN AVAILABLE.

3. THE TEXT OF THE MEMORANDUM, AS AGREED IN THE AHG, IS ESSENTIALLY A SHORTENED VERSION OF THE TEXT OF THE PRESENTATION IN STATE 223835. IT WAS AGREED AFTER A NUMBER OF VERY LONG AND ARDUOUS DEBATES, BOTH IN THE AD HOC GROUP ITSELF AND IN A DRAFTING COMMITTEE CONSTITUTED BY THE AHG (SEE SEPTELS FOR DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS). VIRTUALLY EVERY SIGNIFICANT FORMULATION IN THE TEXT HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO DETAILED AND PAINSTAKING EXAMINATION, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH THE MAJOR UNRESOLVED MBFR ISSUES IN THE ALLIANCE HAVE ONCE AGAIN BEEN AIRED. NECESSARILY, THE RESULT EMBODIES CERTAIN COMPROMISES. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE TEXT WHICH HAS EMERGED FROM THE AHG DISCUSSIONS IS CONSISTENT IN ALL ITS ESSENTIALS WITH THE SUBSTANCE AND ORDER OF PRESENTATION OF REF (A), AS WELL AS THE ALLIED APPROACH PAPER (CM (73) 83). I BELIEVE THE PAPER IS A GOOD ONE AND THE BEST THAT CAN BE OBTAINED, GIVEN THE CONTINUING AMBIGUITIES OR DIFFERENCES AMONG THE ALLIES ON CERTAIN ISSUES. IT LAYS OUT THE ALLIED POSITION CLEARLY AND EFFECTIVELY ENOUGH TO BE A USEFUL INSTRUMENT IN THE COMING WEEKS OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND AN EFFECTIVE COUNTER TO THE SOVIET DRAFT.

4. IN THE LIGHT OF THE TACTICS THE SOVIETS HAVE ADOPTED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, I BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL-- AND THERE IS UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT WITHIN THE AD HOC GROUP ON THIS POINT-- THAT WE TABLE THE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL AS SOON AS FEASIBLE, PREFERABLY NOVEMBER 22.

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5. FOR THE ABOVE REASONS, I RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON ACCEPT THE TEXT IN THE FORM IT HAS BEEN AGREED IN THE AHG. I FEAR THAT TO REOPEN THE TEXT FOR DISCUSSION IN THE NAC NEXT WEEK WOULD INVITE OTHERS TO DO THE SAME, WITH THE RISK THAT THERE WOULD BE A DELAY IN GETTING NAC APPROVAL. I BELIEVE THE DISADVANTAGES TO THE ALLIES OF DELAY, ESPECIALLY A PROLONGED DELAY,

WOULD BE SERIOUS.

6. FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF POINTS OF
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WORDING OF THE AHG MEMOR-
ANDUM AND THE WORDING OF CORRESPONDING PASSAGES OF
WASHINGTON TEXT:

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 621

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9513

FROM US REP MBFR

(A) TITLE: AHG FELT THAT "FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL" WAS
TERM OF ART, AND THAT "OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS" WOULD BE MORE
COMPREHENSIBLE TO THE EAST.

(B) AREA: AHG FORMULATION WAS DEISGNEED TO AVOID
PROBLEM CREATED BY FACT THAT LUXEMBOURG GOVERNMENT IS FORMALLY
ON RECORD THAT THERE WILL BE NO REDUCTIONS "IN LUXEMBOURG".

(C) COMMON CEILING: TERM "APPROXIMATE PARITY" WAS
REINTRODUCED TO SATISFY BRITISH INSISTENCE THAT CONCEPT HAD
TO TAKE COMBAT CAPABILITY INTO ACCOUNT. TERM "OVERALL
GROUND FORCE MANPOWER" WAS INSISTED UPON BY BELGIANS, TO
PROTECT IDEA THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO SUB-CEILINGS IN SECOND
PHASE AGREEMENT EXCEPT ON US AND SOVIET FORCES.

(D) SCOPE AND TIMING: PHRASE "GOVERNED BY SEPARATE AGREEMENTS" WAS FELT TO BE NECESSARY BY AHG TO MAKE CLEAR DISTINCTION FROM SOVIET CONCEPT OF A SINGLE AGREEMENT IMPLEMENTED IN SEVERAL PHASES.

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(E) SOVIET AND US GROUND FORCES: AHG FORMULATION TAKES ACCOUNT OF POINT, INSISTED UPON BY GERMANS, THAT FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD INCLUDE ASSOCIATED MEASURES, NOT SIMPLY "CONSIST OF" US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS.

(F) SOVIET REDUCTIONS: THE PHRASE "AND WOULD NOT BE REPLACED" WAS ADDED TO PARAGRAPHS ON WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES TO USSR AND WITHDRAWAL OF US FORCES TO US TO MEET BELGIAN INSISTENCE ON MAKING THIS POINT EXPLICITLY, AND NOT LEAVING IT IMPLICIT UNDER NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

(G) US REDUCTIONS: MOST MEMBERS OF THE AHG FELT THAT PHRASE "AT US DISCRETION" WAS TOO STRONG AND WOULD PROVOKI SOVIET REACTION; "AS THE US GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE" WAS AGREED AS COMPROMISE.

(H) OTHER SECURITY ASPECTS: THIS PARAGRAPH WAS INTRODUCED AT GREEK AND TURKISH INSISTENCE. IT WAS AGREED AFTER LENGTHY DEBATES DURING WHICH GREEK AND TURKISH REPS REPEATEDLY ATTEMPTED TO OBTAIN LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT A REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD INCLUDE SPECIFIC "MEASURES" TO GUARANTEE THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF THE FLANKS. FLANK REPS ACCEPTED PRESENT WORDING RELUCTANTLY. IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT FLANKS WILL SEEK TO REOPEN THE ISSUE IN THE NAC. I WOULD HOPE THAT WASHINGTON COULD LIVE WITH PRESENT WORDING ON BASIS THAT FORMULATION "AGREEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED THAT" IS SUFFICIENTLY VAGUE AND LOOSE TO COVER SUCH POSSIBLY ACCEPTABLE WAYS OF DEALING WITH FLANK CONCERNS IN AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT AS A PREAMBULAR CLAUSE OR A DECLARATION OF INTENT.

(I) ASSOCIATED MEASURES: TERM "STABILIZING MEASURES" WAS DROPPED, AND "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" (COVERING ALSO VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION) WAS INTRODUCED, FOR PRESENTATIONAL REASONS, TO LINK CONCEPT OF STABILIZING MEASURES AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE TO AGREED LANGUAGE OF JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE.

(J) PROVISION FOR SECOND PHASE: AHG FELT IT NECESSARY, AFTER SOME DEBATE, TO INCLUDE FORMULATION ON "CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND PHASE IN WHICH EACH SIDE WOULD

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FURTHER REDUCE ITS GROUND FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA" (A
MODIFIED VERSION OF SECOND SENTENCE OF PARA 34 OF ALLIED
APPROACH PAPER) IN ORDER TO BUILD A BARRIER AGAINST SOVIET
INSISTENCE ON ADDRESSING EUROPEAN FORCES IN PHASE ONE BY
INDICATING THEY COULD BE ADDRESSED IN PHASE TWO, BUT WITHOUT
USING TERM "AGGREGATES" WHICH GROUP JUDGED WOULD AROUSE SOVIET
SUSPICIONS. TITLE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS INSERTED IN
LAST SENTENCE TO MEET INSISTENCE OF SEVERAL ALLIED REPS THAT
"ASSOCIATED MEASURES" WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED IN PHASE
TWO.HUMES

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